

14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014
March 15, 1973

TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Dear Comrades,

Attached are copies of letters from Dan Styron when he was in Europe.

Comradely,

Gus

February 5, 1973

Dear Comrades,

The national committee members in Sweden who declared for the majority are Tom Gustaffson, Bo Kuritzen, Benny Asman, Ken Lewis, Gote----- and one name I missed for a total of 6. Bo Kuritzen is the weakest and he wants very much to talk with me when I return to Sweden.

Those who refused to declare for the majority are Hoken and Lars from Goteborg plus Peter from Stockholm.

The central leaders of the majority are Ken Lewis, Tom and Benny. The strongest leader of those not yet declaring is Peter but I don't think he will hold out against the majority for long.

We must put our emphasis on Hoken and Bo Kuritzen. It looks like all of Goteborg will not be with the majority.

At the convention in Sweden a greetings was read from the IMG-- written by Tariq. It emphasized the need for building a centralized International. Later, the convention voted that one-sixth of all income should go to the International.

Benny Asman gave the political report and said that in Sweden the 4-5 years did not hold -- but maybe it was good for France. Under organization, they voted to move away from the cell structure toward the branch and fraction system. They said the cell system didn't work well in developing comrades. They do a lot of work in the army and think it very important. They will change the name of the paper. A man gave the women's liberation report. Other than the women's liberation discussion there was only one woman who spoke at any time during the entire convention of two days!

The Vietnam report and discussion was extremely good. They called for a campaign to expose the great power conference on Indochina.

When Peter spoke on the International dispute, Vergeat said that the majority tendency would be formed on the following program: (1) Re-affirm the decisions of the 9th World Congress; (2) Affirm the existence of a mass vanguard; (3) For Intervention in mass struggle (against commentary politics); (4) Balance sheet on Latin America; and (5) Strengthen the center of the International. The sense of the motion on the general election in September was to run several candidates.

Two men from the Angolan MPLR were at the Swedish convention. One was the government representative in Sweden -- the other was the chairman of the MPLR. Vergeat spent a lot of time with them. Swedish comrades were told informally that they (MPLR) would help build a section of the International in Portugal. This may or may not be true. They also are having a convention soon. We should attend.

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Lon McDaniel translated for us and was sympathetic to the majority. Both Peter and I are very suspicious of him. He says he is an American deserter from an ultraright background. At best he is simply emotionally unstable.

I will spend some time in Goteborg before returning to the U.S. If a vote were taken today in Sweden, only a minority would vote for the majority of the International. However, the U.S. minority has no political leader in Sweden at this time.

Now Denmark == the leaders of the Aarhus branch are all for the International minority and will declare when asked. Allen is the only weak one -- and hasn't much influence. Those strongest for the international minority are Torben Hansen, Preben Jens, Isac and Peter. The strongest leader appears to be Preben. Both Preben and Torben have a fundamental understanding of the views of the international minority. I visited a small local of 5 comrades in Haderslev and gave our report on the World Congress. They were all high school students but very well informed. The leading comrades there is Jens Hjorth.

From there I went to Copenhagen. The comrades had not set up a meeting for Peter as promised. However they were very friendly to me. I stayed with leading comrades. The leaders of the international majority in Copenhagen are Mogens Pederson, Poul Erik Nielsen, and Lars Hunters. I spoke a lot with Soren Otto Jensen who is interested in attending our convention this summer. He lives in the same flat as Mogens Pedersen.

I spoke with Lars and Barbara Jensen. Lars is becoming optimistic about the fight. Just about half the membership lives on the mainland (i.e., Jutland) and is under Aarhus' influence. The bulletins from the US had just arrived at the headquarters. The members in Copenhagen aren't politically lined up yet. Lars thinks he might well be able to convince 5-10 comrades in Copenhagen of the international minority's position. That would carry Denmark for the international minority. They are very happy with developments in Sweden. They will declare for the international minority when asked. Lars and Barbara are concerned that delegates won't be chosen proportionally. I told them that the International would decide how many and by what manner delegates would be chosen. I told them the international minority would not allow a section to give all delegates to the majority if the minority had carried 30-40% of the votes at the section's convention. They were much relieved. Right now Denmark looks like it is split 50-50 on the international disputes. The more experienced political people are with the minority. They are real leaders and not fools.

Mogens wrote a summary of the IEC that went to every member of the Danish section. We have every reason to think it is a factional document rather than a report. It would be good to correct it. Such a correction could be submitted to the Danish discussion by a minority supporter. This would (1) clarify our positions and (2) undermine Mogens' authority by showing his report was factionally motivated. I will send a copy of the report to you under a separate cover.

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In Denmark there is another group that will apply for membership in the Fourth International at the next world congress. This group of from six to twelve people publish a paper Folkets Avis which is much more widely read than that of the RSF. This group around Folkets Avis is "100% SWP." They ran articles on the Jenness-Pulley campaign, use much of ICP for their copy, etc. I'm sure the office of ICP subscribes to Folkets Avis. One of their leaders is Vagn Rasmussen whose address you have already. This group lives in Copenhagen, are orthodox Trotskyists in program, but everyone in RSF thinks they are worthless. They are the misfits from RSF, very undisciplined, smoke hash and drink a lot (so rumors say) and work with hippies. However, they will be at the World Congress. Consequently the international minority should see that they get all documents, etc. Ernest and Pierre talked with them this fall. We should do likewise. Caution, however, Anything that looked as if we might favor their admission to the international would go heavily against us in the RSF.

The Trotskyists in Holland joined a formerly Pabloist group with the newspaper Revolte. This Revolte group now is the section. They have about 150 members. Preben was there last summer and gave me this information. We should be sure to visit them. It's very close to Brussels.

I am now on the train to Frankfort. My health is fine. Weather is warm -- "warmest winter since the Great French Revolution."

Comradely,

s/Dan

February 12, 1972

Dear Comrades,

I spent two days in Frankfort talking with the comrades. Frankfort is the new center for the GIM. They are moving people in -- especially leading comrades -- from all over Germany. They will buy a new printing press for the paper Was Tun which will become a twice-monthly tabloid. They have rented a new headquarters. The comrades closest to the minority is Dieter Elken. He is the leading comrade in Frankfort. He agrees with us on antiwar work and Latin America. He is sympathetic to our disagreements with the "European Document." He said that a majority of the youth group's leadership (RKJ) agreed with the SWP positions. This may be too optimistic on his part. Dieter should be sent four copies of our trade union policy and trade union workshop reports. Also, any workshop type reports on work our comrades have done in women's liberation.

Also living at the same address are Eric Wagner and Elke Rupp who are both quite good. Because of the history of the German section, they are quite aware of the fact that Ernest is a political disaster when it comes to practical politics. Dieter understands terrorism, that the majority is an unprincipled combination, etc. However, all the young comrades in Germany believe that the German Social Democratic Party is a bourgeois party!

Another leading comrade now living in Frankfort is Norbert Colabus. He is the treasurer of the GIM and seems to agree with our politics.

The GIM has 360 members located in 30 cities. They are located in: Aachen, Alsdorf, Berlin, Bitburg, Braunschweig, Bremen, Dusseldorf, Frankfort, Freiburg, Gottingen, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Koln, Leverkusen, Ludwigshafen, Luneburg, Mainz, Mannheim, Nenstadt, RB Ruhr, Saarbruchen, RB Sud, Wolfsburg (largest locals underlined).

I spoke with ^Herwart in Mannheim for a few hours. He had received Mary-Alice's letter and was expecting me. Herwart is the central leader of the German section and will move to Frankfort this month. Herwart says that he agrees with the Americans on Latin America. In Germany, the comrades are excited about the PST and give it full support. Herwart has a notion of staying neutral in the struggle within the International. He thinks the discussion is getting out of hand and is worried about a split. He doesn't put much weight on the fact that the GIM voted for the "European Document." That can be changed at the next convention if necessary -- he says. The comrades in Frankfort thought it was a mistake to vote for the "European Document."

I spent one afternoon at Heidelberg. In the last three months the German student movement has experienced a great upsurge. In Frankfort and Heidelberg there were student occupa-

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tions while I was there. We should print some of the articles from Was Tun in Intercontinental Press on this new wave of student protest in Germany. The university at Heidelberg was being occupied by students. Slogans and quotes of Rosa Luxemburg were painted all over the walls. It was like Berkeley or Columbia. Our comrade had stayed up all night in the buildings, but I was able to attend a business meeting of the group. They are very active in the occupation. I was not able to discuss with them very much because they were very tired and busy.

I am now in Zurich. I have a meeting this morning with the executive committee. Last night I spoke with Dr. Steiger. He also agrees with us on Latin America. He liked Joe's contribution to the discussion and agrees with us on Bolivia and Argentina. He considers himself between the majority and minority -- neutral on their side. One comrade that I had a long discussion with yesterday is Tom Niedermann. He is organizationally lined up with the majority but not on a political basis. The Communist League has great influence on the Swiss section.

Sterne's book on the Vietnamese CP has just been printed. I will send you a copy as soon as possible.

Comradely,

s/Dan

February 15, 1973

Dear Comrades,

I just returned from Switzerland. In Zurich I spoke to Pia and others. My estimation is that Pia agrees with the minority on all important questions. However, he is considered the SWP's person in Europe because he was with the IC during the 1950s. He doesn't like being identified with the SWP. Also he thinks that none of the splits within the International have been justified and is fearful of another split. Within the Swiss section he is isolated. They (the Swiss leaders) consider themselves of the international majority -- but not on a clear programmatic basis. Pia even said that the points Mary-Alice made on the "European Resolution" were correct for the most part. However, he wanted them as amendments. He is no fighter and to be with us would mean a fight in the Swiss section and a fight where he would be initially in the minority.

In Lausanne things went quite well. I spoke for an hour in front of their trade union fraction (about 20) on SWP trade union work. The next day I spoke to their political committee on the World Congress. Last night I spoke to the membership about the USA. About 45 people were there. The documents aren't widely available in Switzerland. Right now they are heading for a convention in March. This convention will deal only with Switzerland and not the World Congress. Later they will have a convention to discuss the World Congress documents. The leader of the Swiss section is Charles Andre Udry. He is very capable and 10 years in the Trotskyist movement. He gives the impression of being able to develop into a real leader. He was very interested in discussing all questions in dispute and differentiated himself from the French on several questions. He thinks the IMG had a better position on the "Peace Agreement" than the CL of France. He does not understand that the French took an unprincipled position. He sees it as a tactical question and thinks the NLF will wrap up Vietnam in a few months.

Swiss comrades wouldn't defend the Sallustro kidnapping. One comrade told me, "We waited for a phone call from Paris and printed what we were told."

The biggest problem in Switzerland is that the second strongest leader appears to be Anna Libera. She is married to Charles Andre and worked in the NO of the French CL for several years. She is French and completely factional against the SWP. She was so hostile it became an embarrassment to the other comrades. She has great influence over Charles Andre and the Swiss section.

From my discussions with comrades in Europe, there appear to be two distinct tendencies within the international majority. One is toward terrorism -- vanguard actions that will spark the class into action. The other tendency is economism. These people think handing out factory leaflets early in the morning is the only way to go. The majority holds both positions at the same time. However, they are mutually exclusive in practice as PRT (C) has demonstrated.

Comradely,

February 28, 1973

Dear Comrades,

I will be arriving in New York on Wednesday. I was unable to meet any of the comrades in Amsterdam. Theo Wiering was not home -- the only address I had.

In Brussels we met with Sterne (France), Tom (Sweden), Eric (Denmark), Julio (Spain), Dan, Wendy (USA) Jan (Belgium). I assume Wendy has given a report on the substance of the meeting. I will make some observations on Sterne's changed attitude since the YSA convention. He now says that dual power does not exist in the cities. At the YSA convention he said the opposite. The peasants are not going to return to the PRG controlled areas in the near future. At the YSA convention he said the opposite. The fighting will end soon and for a very long time the PRG's work will be propagandistic and semi-legal. At the YSA convention he said the fighting would continue at the hamlet level. At the YSA convention he said that the policy of national concord shouldn't be taken seriously. Now he says it will be the central strategy of the PRG for a long time. These are all evidences of the increasingly unfavorable situation in Vietnam. Sterne is incapable of understanding this.

When I visited Berlin, the comrades had just met with the PRG in East Berlin. Comrade Vinny understood what this meant for the Vietnamese revolution. When I asked them if they thought the PRG was Stalinist they said it looked more and more as if the PRG were Stalinist.

The two leading comrades in Berlin are Walter Suss and Weiny____. They are on the national committee of the GIM.

Sybille was not in Berlin but was in England, so I did not see her. Comrades Wenny and Walter are fairly good and tend to sympathize with the U. Sec. minority on Latin America. On other questions they tend to agree with the SWP but not strongly. The Berlin organization is in shambles organizationally. Wenny and Walter are in a minority against Wolf and Ulf. However, they say this minority will soon be a majority. The group headed by Wolf doesn't agree with democratic centralism and is a dilletante tendency.

I spoke with a leader of the Matzpen in Berlin. He is not in the Fourth International. When I told him the SWPs position on the right of self-determination for Israeli Jews he couldn't believe that any Trotskyist held such a position. He disagreed with our position.

The GRM in Austria has 40 members, 8 candidates and 20 sympathizers. Before the convention all members were in Wien. At the convention there were people from Salzburg, Linz, Innsbruck, and other places. The function of the convention was to recruit these sympathizers so the GRM could be a national organization.

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About 60 people attended the convention. The first report was on the economic situation in Austria. The report characterized the OSP as a capitalist party that could not adapt and coopt a new proletarian upsurge. There was a big discussion about this characterization but most agreed it was no longer a working class party. Bruno characterized it as a proletarian party with a bourgeois program, but few agreed with him.

The central orientation of the GRM is toward the trade unions. Hermann gave the report. It was about effective propaganda toward workers. There was a big heated debate and the report wasn't voted on. At this point it was clear that an organized political minority existed in the GRM. Exact political character of this minority was not clear, but it had a lot of critic types and dillitantes.

The Austrian comrades had a good report on university work. Their orientation toward the student elections seemed reasonable. First, they would try to build a common slate in opposition to university "reforms" the government is trying to impose. If a slate was rejected by the other tendencies, they would run GRM slates. Everyone agreed not to give critical support to Maoist slates.

They spent 6-8 hours discussing the name of their new monthly newspaper. Finally it was decided to call it "Red Front." This was not a good decision and implies an orientation that is wrong. Those against "Red Front" argued that it was third period Stalinist and militarist. Those in favor said it was the salutation of the student movement and was militant. Privately, John and I explained that the reason it was the salutation of the radicals is because of the Maoist influence and the view that the 1929-35 period was a revolutionary period for the Third International.

There was to be a report on women's liberation but it was postponed. They are active in a 60-member women's group in Vienna.

They did not discuss Vietnam but had decided to try to mobilize when possible.

Charles Andre Udry from Switzerland spoke as the representative of the United Secretariat. He spoke on the "European Resolution" and gave a workerist interpretation. He told them not to take a vote on it. This showed that he kept the agreement he had made with me in Switzerland. Charles Andre seems honest and capable. The only non-Austrians were Charles Andre, John and me.

They gave me 20 minutes to speak on the United States and give greetings from the SWP. The response was very favorable.

They had a discussion on an approach toward the left-SP youth that had two weeks before been expelled from the SP. The GRM would approach the leadership and propose that the membership meetings of both organizations be open to members of both groups. This way GRM hopes to recruit out of this left-SP youth

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group. They also would propose meetings to discuss program with the leaders of the SP youth, but give them low priority as GRM thinks total agreement isn't possible. This left-SP youth group has from 100-400 members.

They elected a new leadership. The national committee is 7 and the central committee is 3. Since all 7 live in Vienna, the national committee meets at least once a week.

On the vote for the political committee the minority tendency won two posts leaving the majority only Raimond on the PC. Previously all 3 had been majority. This shook everyone up. Hermann and Raimond are the two central leaders of the GRM but Hermann was not elected to the PC. There was a big discussion whether to coopt Hermann, but the minority insisted that the vote for PC indicated support for their line as opposed to that of Hermann. (The minority presented no line resolutions; only criticisms of the majority line.) This vote on the leadership showed the organization was in a crisis of some type and everyone was very concerned.

I had agreed to not raise the international disputes in my remarks at the convention. They in turn agreed to organize a meeting following the convention where I could present the views of the international minority. This meeting took place. About 25-30 attended. Raimond defended the majority. Hermann leaned toward the minority and the leader of the Austrian minority agreed with the international minority.

Raimond gave a clear position on the vanguard. He said and defended the idea that there would not be time to build parties -- the vanguard would be adequate to lead the revolution. This was the clearest statement that I have run into in Europe. Others think it but don't say it. Raimond is unused to such tricks and says what he believes. I, of course, explained this represented a liquidationist tendency of thought in the International. The Austrian comrades are very interested in the World Congress discussion. They want us to send them 50 of all documents. Only a few are lined up. The Austrian leadership comes out of a Maoist organization and is very raw. John B. said he thought they were politically the most backward he has met.

I am now in Stuttgart at Ingo Spiedel's. I had an 8-hour meeting at Tübingen. Fifteen comrades attended. We discussed all questions in the international discussion. They are not committed to either tendency -- but reject guerrilla war as a strategy for Latin America. The 9th World Congress resolutions have not been available in German for several years. They will be available soon.

I plan to go to Frankfurt Thursday to speak to Herwart again. Then I take the night train to Copenhagen where I get a plane to Ireland.

Comradely,

s/Dan

March 6, 1973

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is a report on the Irish convention. The Revolutionary Marxist Group has 25 members. These members are in three areas: Dublin, Belfast, and Limerick. A majority live in Dublin which is the center. They have a newspaper, The Plough, which they will try to publish monthly plus a theoretical magazine. They have a small book service and expect to buy a printing press soon. They have the money for the press but are having difficulties finding a place for it. They also decided at their convention to move toward having one full-timer. The RMG has existed for only one year.

In the introductory discussion, the following evaluation was made. First, in the last year the RMG has oriented too much toward the People's Democracy and Provos. Instead it should now have a heavy propaganda campaign directed primarily toward the members of the Official IRA. The RMG has been too concerned with defending the Provos from sectarian attacks by the Officials. The Officials have been very sectarian toward the provos sometimes calling them fascists, etc. However, the best people are in the Officials and it is toward the Officials that our propaganda should be directed while not missing opportunities with the Provisionals or PD. We should work with every group we can in the anti-repression campaign. A broad defense committee including all Republicans and civil libertarians should be encouraged. RMG's former policy oriented primarily toward the Provos was characterized as impressionism. The entire membership of the RMG supports this change in orientation. Not a single person argued against it.

The RMG has just concluded a very successful election intervention. The elections were called on three weeks notice unexpectedly. The Provos abstained, the Sinn Fein ran some candidates and the RMG extended critical support to Sinn Fein candidates. A special election issue of The Plough was produced with an excellent center poster and articles on the campaign. The major slogan of the RMG was "Against Repression -- Vote Republican." They intervened very energetically into the campaign and got to work with the Officials. The poster of the RMG was very good and the Officials helped post them and liked them very much. The Officials electoral policy was economist and a criticism of this policy appeared in The Plough. Consequently this turn toward the Officials had already begun by the time of the RMG convention which codified this turn.

A very detailed financial report was given with recommendations on future expenditures, etc. A discussion on democratic centralism took place with specific recommendations. They think that the primitive accumulation of members has been achieved and now they should move to being a propaganda group that has an interventionist approach towards the mass movement. (One year ago they characterized themselves as a discussion group.)

A very high level discussion took place on the women's

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liberation movement. Several of the more important leaders of the RMG are women -- in contrast to other groups in Europe. The Official IRA has a programmatic position favoring women's liberation. The question is whether they intend to do anything around women's liberation. RMG will set up a women's commission to discuss a concrete orientation. RMG will publish a pamphlet on women's liberation. Were a gay movement to appear in Ireland the RMG would support it.

There was a report and discussion on student work with primary emphasis on the high schools. The universities are very small and elite. However, an interventionist approach was taken toward the universities as well. They will try to publish "Socialist Student" to help them in student work.

There was a short discussion on Vietnam. Propaganda will be expanded -- especially on the Stalinist betrayal. United front mobilizations were projected when and if possible.

At the 10th World Congress the RMG will apply to become the official sympathizer section of the Fourth International in Ireland. The RMG does not feel it has developed to the point where it can be an official section.

There was a long discussion on a Marxist evaluation of Irish history. A document was presented and tabled for further work. Such a Marxist evaluation is sorely needed due to the contradictory development of Irish nationalism and Republicanism and the confusion existing in the revolutionary groups. Those "Marxist interpretations" presently in existence tend to be anti-nationalist, economist, and often pro-imperialist. A sophisticated interpretation is sorely needed. The discussion among our comrades is at a relatively high level on these essential questions. Of course, Gerry Foley plays an invaluable role in this process.

I have left until last a discussion of the guests to the RMG conference. There was a comrade from Germany, Gerry and me from USA, Connie Harris, Jerry Lawless, Judy White, John Ross, Bob Purdie, Gus Fagen and a few others from the IMG. The United Sec. was represented by Vergeat who never arrived!

In addition to routine greetings from the SWP, Gerry Foley was invited to speak twice during the course of the conference. First he spoke on Irish solidarity work in the USA for half an hour and during the discussion on women's liberation he was asked to speak about the Officials' attitude toward women's liberation.

Additionally we had a meeting of guests plus 15 RMGers to discuss the differences between the IMG's and SWP's approach toward solidarity work. I think the IMG came off very badly in the exchange.

The Irish comrades were very glad to see the theses on Ireland Gerry brought with him for discussion. We had a short discussion of these theses after the convention ended. Also we had a short discussion with 6 leaders of the RMG on the disputes

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in the International. The RMG has received no documents yet. Also a lot of informal discussion took place. I was able to give Connie H. a short report on Europe.

The IMG's program for solidarity work is very confusing. Gerry Foley knows it better because he reads their press. However, they are against work toward the British troops in England, think it's a principle to raise the slogan "Support the guerrilla struggle in Ireland," and at the same time look to the shop stewards of the British trade unions to lead a movement to "Bring the British troops home." The IMG intends to initiate a conference of trade unionists on the theme "The Role of the British Army in Ireland." This is to take place in March. The IMG hasn't voted on it yet. The IMG is very confused.

Comradely,

s/Dan

2/20/73

— Dan, Wendy

could not find out who was there

Gustafson - said he didn't attend
Stem said no Americans were at
the meeting -
(was in Ghent)

7/10 mtg - —

Stem
Gustafson
Eric - Ben

Spain — Julio
Holland
Belgium

[not sure of what line came
out of London mtg. — could
not tell

Discussion - accords a ~~setback~~?
char of leadership?

could not tell whether a-w
people were at tendency mtg

protests at int'l great
power conf -

French opposed because
Viets are against

~~Wames~~ keep ~~the~~ talking to
French ide.

are SWP/Militant thinking
they are betraying?
was a-w-m being demobilized

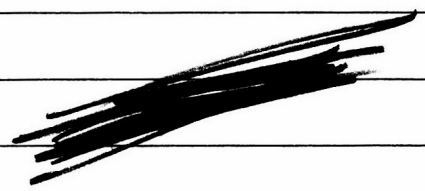
Stockholm

mtg // Wendy : VN

Rome - this weekend
maybe

I

~~Stene~~
hold mtgs -



Holland - Dan couldn't get in touch
with anyone

March 27th - going

Stay longer?
~~=====~~

Will call after Vienna -
1wk